1: Hollis C-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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gindig enito, pe ormonot, nenkoitumok, nenitipuk ol-ine, enee ajumishoore, enito 'e-gwe, nenkoi ol-kerrein te-inna-kindig.

Ore en-dua en-'e-gishin naa 'e-gujit; nenyor il-Masaee 'e-gujit, enee ninjo en-dua en-'e-gishin.

Ore tshili ten enny eng-ai ashe, nenyeo 'ligwetiyuk nainishi 'e-gujit il-k-ilisai pe etwa naisai eng-ai.

Kua, ten ther ol-mwanai ol-eyitai te-shum, nedigwa ol-eyitai 'e-gujit enaiye, naa ten ashi ol-mwanai 'e-gujit elashgisha ol-eyitai, nenanitiki ee.

Ore ai ten tarore 'l-Masaee 'l-nedigwai, y' eiyito nainye e-ativa, nainye 'e-gujit ilashaye.

Kua, ten oriinyoye 'l-mwana te-'e-jore, pe ogilaki 'l-ontarishitu, nainitiki, elashgisha enishe eng-ati e-kulie nepukuroore 'e-gujit nanyori.

Kua, ten eidori, nainitiki 'nainaia le-gujit.

Kua, ten enaiyuki ol-tadigwai 'e-gujit, nenanirak e-naiyata, eiji: "Ol-nertilatai ilia, nenyitie 'e-gishin.'

Kua, ten ele ol-tadigwai witi, pe ashi ol-ainai ntarakitie eng-

has a cow, which he looks after and tends, it bears, and by so doing enables him to live, for he can marry, and have children, and thus becomes rich. 233 181 [556]

Now cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account. [824]

824

Whenever there is a drought, the women fasten grass on to their clothes, and go and offer up prayers to God. [782]

If a warrior beats a boy on the grazing ground, the boy tears up some grass, and when the warrior sees that the child has grass in his hand, he stops beating him.

Again, if the Masai fight with an enemy, and wish to make peace, they hold out some grass as a sign. [928]

Whenever warriors return from a raid, and it is desired to praise those who have killed some of the enemy, a girl takes a small gourd of milk, and having covered it with green grass, sprinkles it over them. [703]

Then, if people move from one kraal to another, they tie grass on to the gourds.

Should one man ask forgiveness of another with grass in his hand and his request be not attended to, it is said that the man who refuses to listen to his prayer is a Dorobo, and that he does not know about cattle. [827] [186]

Again, if a man who is proceeding on a journey sees a tree which has [484]

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En-gigurun.

Itadoa, en-gigurun oo-'n-gura oo-'l-Maasae kutiti, naa 'aitoo eitarur arnki 'n-dulele',[1] neigurunye ditaa 'n-gishu oo 'n-dare. Neitayu 'ng-ajijik oo-'n-gulugbok ditaa 'ng-aligita, naitayu sii e-sere ditaa en-bere. Nenyor in-doiye kutiti 'l-figunaiyuk o-'l-darpoi, ndjo 'n-gura.

Ore 'l-ayuk bôtore, nemira ti-atwa 'n-gishu. Neiligura en-gitelig nabor, naitaa eng-eji. Naitashe ol-aytoi tibo aboitare en-gitelig, nepwo 'l-kulikua dimdori. Ore ten epwtun 'l-kulikua, nemir lido tiboitare en-gitelig. Ore ol-tmiri naibeligi, ndji etaara 'l-maligati ditanyanyukye; o ol-tibo akerda en-gitelig aietye, netipua illo. Ndji inna-kigurun Sambwen.

Eata sii 'l-mforuak en-gigurun enye o-'n-jata naata 'n-gumot kumok naitamanaa 'aitoo ooji 'n-doto. Ndji inna-kigurun en-gushoi.

Neigurun sii 'l-murua inna-kigurun, kake mme naleleg. Meata en-jata, eitobir 'n-gumot te-'n-gop aka.

O-aôtwa.

Ten eiyoo 'l-Maasae naitayu o-aôtwa oo 'l-kulikua, aa 'l-maligati aa 'l-eibon ootaarata, naibeleg il-murua il-mforuak

[1] Ndimuna ap.

Games.

Small Masai children collect pebbles or berries, with which they play at cattle and sheep. They also build huts and kraals in the sand, and they make spears out of bulrushes. Little girls make dolls of the fruit of the *sausage-tree*[1]. [524]

Big boys play about in the herds of cattle. They choose a quiet animal, and pretend it is a bull. One boy stands by the cow whilst the others go and hide. When the latter return, the one who is standing by the cow chases them away. If one of the boys who is driven off is caught, they say the enemy have killed him; anybody who manages to escape and touch the cow has won. This game is called Sambwen.

The old men likewise have their game. This is played on a board containing many compartments, in which they circulate pebbles called 'n-doto. This game is called en-gushoi. [524] [529]

The warriors also play this game, but they do not care about it much. They have no boards, and make holes in the earth.

Peace.

If the Masai make peace with other people, whether enemies or other Masai with whom they have fought, the warriors seize two in- [525]

[1] Kigelia æthiopica, Bth.

kitook sare, o en-gitoig enata eng-aake, o e-ligorityiai enata en-gorai kiti; aeiko ai ntje 'l-mologoti.

Kopwo aatemo te-'wiji aitie, eitoig il-oshpusuk pikis il-kojit te-'ng-eina e-tattoo, aaitapuaki 'n-gitoo, ne'ya 'l-Masae en-gitoig en-'l-mologoti, ne'ya 'l-mologoti en-gitoig en-'l-Masae. Kenok en-gorai en-'l-mologoti ol-kina le-'ligorityiai en-'l-Masae; nenok ai en-gorai en-'l-Masae ol-kina le-'ligorityiai en-'l-mologoti.

Kwinyo 'ng-ekgita enye, enicyitiito ntje eitoiga e-ettwa kitok.

Aana en-eaikena 'l-Loaibwa en 'l-Masae te-'l-ori le-'ng-eitoig te-'wiji ntji El-ledgeia e-Tangarosa.

Ore epa tani naiyio 'l-Masae naitoig e-ettwa kitok en 'l-nook, naiaasaki ol-narusi.

Eitoraa ol-aibwa loo-'l-Masae aboitore ol-aibwa loo-'l-nook, naitoo pukiraare e-enye te-'ng-eina e-kutyenye, nepik le-gisi e-'l-kitoiig tyaligi te-iyoo, naiyoo.

Ore y' eitip, enyee; kaka aito eitoig il-Masae ele-ettwa.

portant elders, and take a ox which has a calf, and a woman who has a baby; and the enemy do the same.

They then meet together at a certain spot, everybody present holding grass in his right hand, and exchange the cattle, the Masai taking the enemy's cow and the enemy the Masais'. The enemy's child is suckled at the breast of the Masai woman, and the Masai baby at the breast of the woman belonging to the enemy.

After this they return to their kraals, knowing that a solemn peace has been entered into.

This was peace restored between the Loaibwa Masai and the Masai people[1], in the year of the ox[2], at the place called the Ford of Sangorosa[3].

Formerly when the Masai did not wish to make a solemn peace with the savages, they entered into blood brotherhood with them.

A Masai elder would sit down with one of the elders of the savages; each of them would then cut his left arm, and after dipping in the blood some meat of a bullock which was killed on the spot, would eat it.

When they had finished, the Masai went away, but they did not keep the peace.

[113] * Hobley (Eastern Uganda, p. 10) and Johnston (The Uganda Protectorate, p. 804) describe a similar ceremony after a war between the Masai and the Lumbwa or Kipsikisi.

[1] The poor of the great famine (1884).

[2] On the Sotta or Pangani River.

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the laibons into three categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group, these all belong to the Il-Kidongi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kapotia at Ngong (now living among the Lotuko), the Elanderi, Il-Ashipash, Il-Wuasinkishu and Isenkiri who had their own, though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were[*] (1) to sanction war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical force for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 38). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

*See Gulbrandsen, pp. 10-15.

War Organization

When the warriors of a sirit wanted to raid, they approached their *el-ajunani*, who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*el-arara*) was intended. The *il-ajunanik* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in very after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-piak* and feasted on meat to prepare them for the raid; parents were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective. Thomson was told that a Masai patrol was once sent to Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; then some were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lenana in the manyata, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-aa-rok-kitog* and *il-aa-ke-nanyi*, "the black ox" and "the red ones," and bought by the spoil. Small cattle, *el-arumpia*, carried off locally by one sirit, were not returned to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmoruto, where two large collections of warriors (to put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kapotia, the other of the Il-Ashipash. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, observed on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline was pride, strengthened by fear and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Except with shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which mutual oaths

from each side scribed each other's bodies. Peace was then kept till a united ceremony was held. With Dorobo tribes the Masai sometimes made stock blood brotherhood, but usually treated with terror as dorobo, for they have no blood brotherhood of their own. Among the Dorobo, grass is a sign of peace, and a handful of grass constitutes a plea for mercy recognized by the Masai and those whom they count as more or less their equals, the *Il-maguri* or "*ewenton*," such as other pastoralists, but not *Il-meek*, the Bantu agricultural tribes.

Legal Sanctions

The Masai legal system seems to be less organized than that of the Nandi, and to depend even more on the force of public opinion than on the position and power of the council leader. It appears that only in cases of homicide is there anything like a regular procedure. The Masai distinguish between intentional and accidental homicide, the difference being that for the latter there is no blood feud and the amount of compensation is smaller. The number of blood-cattle paid as compensation, *ne-kaba ool-ishog*, "murder cattle," varies, but may be as high as two to three hundred for a man; Hollis says 50 for a boy, and Merker 10 head of cattle and 10 goats and sheep for a woman. Fadiman also gives the figures as 50 for a circumcised man, and 20 for a woman or uncircumcised man. The *Il-Ariaks* are recognized as a group which pays and receives blood-cattle. The murder may be avenged by the dead person's brothers who may try to kill the murderer; and if compensation is not paid, the resulting feud may involve all agnatic kinsmen on both sides. It is not clear whether killing of the murderer makes the avengers also liable to compensation. If the victim belongs to the same sub-clan as the murderer, no compensation is paid either side. If they belong to different sub-clans of the same clan, or to different clans, all members of the murderer's sub-clan contribute, and the cattle are divided among the members of the victim's sub-clan after the senior brother has received half the stock. When a settlement has been made, peace is made between the families concerned by an exchange of garments. Hollis gives details of three methods of dealing with cases of murder. (1) The relatives of the victim take all the murderer's cattle; they hold a council and, after giving a few cattle to certain elders and old women, the brothers, brothers-in-law, and some near relative are returned to the owner; the rest they divide among themselves. (2) If action is not taken at once, the relatives of the murderer send a stick to the relatives of the victim, the acceptance of which implies an agreement to meet and settle the matter, and compensation is arranged, the figure quoted being 40 head of cattle, with nine more added to symbolize the human body (reckoned by the number of its orifices). (3) Sometimes the relatives of the victim do not take action for two years or more; they then raid the murderer's kraal by night and demand the number they want. For killing a smith, *al-mason*, no compensation was payable, nor was there a blood feud. If a smith killed a Masai, several warriors set out and killed several smiths. Their troops of cattle is apparently considered of little account: "If a Masai steals milk or meat or other small things, he is not fined. Clever-up people rarely steal," says Hollis. For cattle thefts, the thieves when caught were fined, and a blood feud with each man concerned.

The general principle that a man is entitled to compensation for a wrong suffered is recognized by all Masai; and this recognition is extended to "foreigners" like Swahili, provided the people concerned are well known to each other. On being accused, a man may submit to an oath, *al-mason*. In some cases a division of the type called *al-gwaldi* by Merker is employed to test a guilty person. The whole subject of Masai legal institutions needs detailed investigation.

Native Administration

The Masai political structure has proved even more difficult of adaptation than that of the Nandi, since it lacked the chief-out personal divisions of the latter. Up to 1918 the chief taken in Kenya was accepted by the Administration as a permanent

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As has already come out in the foregoing, the Masai are not familiar with a declaration of war in their dealings with foreign tribes. War is rather a sudden attack in the midst of peace, or, more properly, because, as we shall presently see, solemnly intended and binding conclusions of peace are indeed not customary. In a state of peace, which the tribe concerned owes merely to the circumstance that the Masai at the time are simply plundering other peoples richer in livestock at the moment.

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If the war concerned a distant area, no peace whatever was concluded, unless it were to deceive these people, so that no difficulty /152/ was to be expected from their side for a later attack on a land neighboring them. For this a few old men were first sent to the just attacked tribe. They carry a bunch of grass (el poiyan, el poiyo = grass) in the right hand and bring a sheep that wears a chain of blue or green ring-beads, el ayamba, around its neck. These are the peace insignia (el ayiria ee nina = things of peace). After the old men have put their request before the foreign chief, the latter, happy to be able to make peace with the Masai, gives them a few old men to take along, with whom the speakers then enter into blood friendship (el eunoto). Both parties, surrounded by warriors, sit down under a shade tree in the vicinity of the kraal, closely opposite each other, one of the foreign old men in front of each speaker. Now each one makes a small cut in the left lower arm of the one opposite him and wipes off the blood gushing forth a number of times with a few pieces of partly roasted meat, which he eats. During this ceremony the participants wear eternal peace. The meat used comes from an animal just slaughtered, usually from a head of cattle, more rarely a goat or a sheep. The animal must be perfectly sound, since which both parties exercise themselves by an examination of the entrails.

Just as the Masai sanction foreign tribes with this blood friendship, they have also often done this with whites or Europeans. These conceived simply believed that a blood friendship running about in this way had the same value as though it had been concluded with ordinary Negro tribes, who have a similar custom. But there is this case it is a pure pretense, there is suggested for conjecture that this is a matter of a concept that is not peculiar to the Masai, but was merely adopted from other peoples. The author regards the possibility of a

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728 648 lasting conclusion of friendship between Europeans and Masai as completely impossible, both on the basis of an experience of almost eight years and also according to the statements of a large number of Masai, who, in the course of a long personal acquaintance, gained so much confidence as to express themselves frankly about this point.

[129] According to their view a friendship, in whatever form it might be concluded, would only ever have the result that individual persons in the service of the Europeans concerned would find a keepsake in the Masai kraals. It could no more bring about a lasting friendship than it would induce the Masai to follow the orders and the laws of the Europeans.

[130] On the other hand, if the Masai seriously mean peace because the tribe wanted upon lives close to them and they are dependent on it for buying vegetable food there (as, for example, in the above-mentioned Kahe), they make an ensoto nyakwahaga ñ gera = suckling of exchanged children. After they have sent off an old man, as before, and he has returned together with a few foreign old men, it is agreed in consultation that the Kahe chief, a Kahe woman with a suckling child, and a number /109/ of witnesses should come to a certain designated place in the steppe between Kahe and the Masai kraals. At the appointed time, there will also be found there a woman from the Masai (not a true Masai, however, but one from another tribe captured in a previous war) with a suckling child, as well as the speaker, the leaders, and other warriors as witnesses. The two women now exchange their children, and each puts the foreign child to her breast for a moment. They then take the children on their backs in the leather apron and conclude blood friendship with each other. One of the witnesses makes a few incisions in the skin of the abdomen of each of the two women and hands her a small piece of the heart of a just slaughtered head of livestock. After each one has wiped off the blood coming out of her cut with this, she sticks it to the mouth of the other. While this ceremony is going on, the speaker and the chief of Kahe affirm eternal friendship in the name of their people: they call upon God as their witness and pray to him that he might exterminate them if they do not maintain the friendship. Every conclusion of peace has as its consequence the obligation for mutual hospitality.

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After a battle of the Masai among themselves, the conclusion of peace is that the speakers, in the presence of a number of warriors of both parties, exchange their skin capes and sandal thongs. This is called erabwitage engiki — exchange of skin capes.

The length of the stretches covered on war expeditions, in comparison to that of their neighbors carrying on agriculture, is often astonishing. Performances of 60 to 80 kilometers a day, three or four days in succession, are by no means exceptions. If one considers, however, that the training of warriors consists only of marching, that, aside from their weapons, they carry nothing heavy, and before their marches, as well as during them, they partake copiously of stimulants, their performances in no way exceed those of a German infantry troop. The tales of the enormous people relate miraculous things about the speed and endurance of the Masai warriors, and even Europeans warriors have contributed to the spread of this legend in that they compare the physical performances of the Masai with those of the Europeans in the regions. The unreasonableness of such a comparison is obvious. One also often hears how the Masai are admired for their alleged ability to be able to give up the drinking of water on their marches. Presumably this rumor arose from the fact that these people, in contrast to other tribes, never carry a gourd bottle of water on their long migrations. The Masai, however, know perfectly every little spot of the steppes, he knows every rocky basin, every tiny spring, he also knows where an apparently dry brook bed carries subterranean water. Where water has collected in old hollow trees, and especially in baobabs, this is accessible to him through a series of steps made out of foot-long taps bored in horizontally. Finally, there are a number of water-rich roots and tubers, which, chewed, are very well suited by their water content to quench thirst. They serve him, /190/ just as the wild honey, our infrequent in the steppes, also serves as food on the march. A curious bird, the honey indicator (Cuculus indicator, called ol jabouni by the Masai), leads the Masai to the concealed honey holes. As soon as it sees human beings it calls with a strident sound and then flies slowly to the nearest honey place, to which the people follow it in order to take out the honey. If the amount found is still not sufficient for the warriors, they bury the chewed comb, whereupon the bird, after

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perished by starvation, thus feeding vultures and hungry hyenas. In places where there were no such natural barriers, and where the two tribes came into contact frequently, peace treaties were signed and friendly relations established. In this case intermarriages were one form of peace-making.

To take a concrete case, my grandmother, on my father's side, was a Masai woman called Moraa, and in reciprocity for this friendly feeling, my aunt (i.e. elder sister of my father) was married to a Masai chief called Senden, and was treated as the head-wife. Exchange visits were made on both sides, and I had the opportunity of visiting her and stayed there for some months as a member of the family.

In territories where this friendly relationship was established, especially between the Kapsi Masai and the Southern Gikuyu, the warriors of the two tribes joined together to invade another section of Masai, like Loita or a section of Gikuyu, like Mbaere or Tharaka. This information was given to me by my grandfather, Kongo wa Magana, who led several of these attacks as a fighting warrior and later as a magician of war.

It can be said that the relation between one tribe and another was no more or less than the religions existing in the present day between various tribes of Europe and America. The only difference is that the relations between European countries involve great suffering for the majority of the people, either through economic fights, tariff barriers and distribution of wealth, etc., or through actual fights in battle-fields. The case of the Spanish Civil War, where one tribe is fighting between itself, or the case of Japan and China, where a strong tribe is trying to dominate a weaker one, are illustrations.

The raids in the tribal warfare affected only a few villages,